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January 17, 1952

From:

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I am forwarding herewith the outline I agreed to work up for the project on the JCP at our last meeting. It is unfortunately much delayed because the list of materials which I requested through the Agency Library has not been sent to me even for preliminary examination. I understand that the documents concerned have been collected but are being held up pending receipt of my plan of approach, so that only those documents which are judged pertinent to my subject can be selected for release.

I am sure that you appreciate the problem that this situation has created. As pointed out in the preface of my outline, it is impossible in the first place properly to define the problems to be taken up in this study with out knowing what materials are available. Secondly, in order to attempt a realistic analysis of the vulnerability of the Japanese Communist Party, it becomes essential that I have free access to all information on the Communist movement in Japan.

As you know, I am pretty familiar with the history of the Japanese Party and have been doing work on the development of Party policy and ideology. On these topics I am able to depend on published books and periodicals for source material. The project as defined in our last session, however, calls for the use of field reports, detailed statistics, and operational information, which are for the most part classified.

I am aware of the security aspects of a study of this nature and understand the "need to know" principle involved in the matter in question. I submit that in studies like this one where information is limited and the problems are so complex, the researcher himself must be allowed the maximum of freedom to exercise his own judgment in the evaluation and exploitation of materials.

I hope that a modus operandi can be worked out at an early date so that this project can get on without delay. Meanwhile, I shall continue working with the materials I have here. I shall welcome comments and criticisms from you and your associates on the outline as submitted. STATINTL

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## Studies in Japanese Communism

### The Japanese Communist Party

The object of this study is to analyze the development, social composition, structure and organization, policy and program, and leadership of the Japanese Communist Party in an attempt to determine its strengths and weaknesses and to assess its potentialities and capabilities as an instrument of international communism. Particular attention will be focussed on the vulnerability of the Party in Japan to internal tensions and external pressures. The postwar development and status of the Party will be emphasized with its prewar background explored only for the light it may throw on characteristic methods of operation (recruitment, training, tactics and strategy), patterns of defection, factionalism and dissent, early careers of leaders, changes in party policy, and other patterns and trends pertinent to an analysis of the present day party.

The following draft outline is presented as a tentative plan of approach. It is intended to comprehend the specific requirements laid down at a preliminary briefing by representatives of the Agency on December 4, 1951, and is an adaptation with necessary modification of an outline worked out [redacted] for an overall study of the Communist Party in Russia. This draft outline is necessarily tentative since it is based on limited information as to the source materials available. Until the nature and scope of available data is known, final definition of many of the problems cannot be made and, indeed, it is impossible to determine to what extent the project as a whole is feasible. Although certain matters such as the formal structure of the party and the overt aspects of Party policy and program may be dealt with through published materials now in hand, the possibility of arriving at significant and useful conclusions on other topics such as the social composition of the Party, its informal organization and its actual operations will depend to a large degree on the availability of detailed statistics, information on the day to day activities of the Party especially on the local level, and reports compiled by competent agencies [redacted]

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#### Plan of Approach

##### I. Historical Development

A summary of the history of the Communist Party in Japan from its founding in 1922 to the present. Its origins, Comintern connections, its prewar and postwar phases of development.

##### II. Composition and Social Structure of the Party Membership

An analysis of available statistical material involving such factors as age, sex, class or social background, occupations, distribution between rural and urban areas, membership in leading urban centers, length of membership in Party, etc.

Questions: What is the present character of party membership as contrasted with the pre-war and early period? The nature of the changes?

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Their significance? To what individuals, classes, groups has the party looked for its new recruits?

III. Composition and Social Structure of the Party Leadership  
related to leadership cadres: Politburo, Central Committee, etc.

Same questions as above. How was the postwar status of individual leaders related to their prewar position? How was the postwar leadership determined? Where did the new leaders come from?

IV. Structure and Organization of the Party

A. Formal Structure

1. Party Rules and Regulations

Conditions of admission to membership, the scheme of party organization, organization of higher and lower party echelons, relations between them, democratic centralism, party discipline.

Changes in Party rules in 1950 and in 1951--an appraisal of their significance.

2. Party Finances

Sources: Where? Who?

B. Informal Structure

1. Identification of positions of leverage.

The nuclei of power within party - the central organ - regional organs - local organs. The strategic position in higher and lower party organs.

2. The process of decision-making

Democratic centralism in action. How is the party line determined? The role of the Politburo, the Central Committee, lower party organs. Their interrelationships. Delegation of authority--degree of local autonomy, of individual independence.

3. Assignment and selection of party officials for party duties.

How determined? From above or below?

4. Checking up on execution

Party discipline. The role of the Control Commission.

5. Party Leadership

Leadership cadres: Politburo, Orgburo, Party Secretariat, Central Committee, important party secretaries, local party secretaries.

Training and recruitment of cadres. How organized? Who in charge? Studies of typical careers. Is there a pattern of leadership success? Personality characteristics of leaders. Relative power of individual leaders vis a vis each other.

6. Intra-Party tensions

Causes--struggles for power, regional differences, ideological cleavages, personal antagonisms. Resolution of tensions - Techniques, self-criticism, the purge and other disciplinary measures.

7. Organization and activities of the rank and file membership
8. Intra-party education and propaganda.

Party publication, meetings, indoctrination programs.

## V. Party Policy in Theory and Practice

### A. Party ideology

Orthodoxy and non-orthodoxy in the ideology of the Japanese Party. Theoretical foundations of Japanese Communism

### B. Major Shifts in the Party Line

Changes and Causes— A study of the pre-war and postwar theses and programs of action.

### C. Foreign and Domestic Policy

Party's official policies toward the Occupation, the U.S. and the West in general, the USSR. ~~Proposals~~ for domestic, political, economic, and social reform.

### D. Party Deviations

The problem of factionalism--the incidence of factionalism.

Is there a pattern of deviation and factionalism? Methods of coping with dissent. Case studies in deviation pre-war and post war.

## VI. The Party and Japanese Society

- A. Degree of Support of the JCP by non-party Japanese citizenry. Where are the areas of closest cooperation between the Party and non-Communist groups in Japanese society? —labor front, cultural circles, academic circles, rural peasantry, etc.

- B. Public Relations of the Party  
Propaganda mediums and techniques.

## VII Conclusions